EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

SUPREME COURT COLLOQUY by Willard Carpenter

Uppsala College

THE Nation

DECEMBER 8, 1956
20c

RUSSIA'S BASIC STRATEGY

Facts Versus Illusions

by John Plamenatz

German Youth Defies the Draft

by John R. Dornberg

The Most Valuable Men in the World

by David Cort

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LETTERS

They Planned It That Way

Dear Sirs: John Schneider's article, Biggest Flop in Show Biz, in your November 24 issue, seems to have missed the whole point of the Republican campaign. The GOP did not *inadvertently* omit to tie the rest of their line in with their showcase item, Mr. Eisenhower. Quite the contrary! They employed some high-priced psychologists who on the basis of a survey determined that of the people who voted for Eisenhower in 1952, 12 per cent did so because they believed he was independent and not a traditional Republican. It was on the basis of this study that the GOP master minds kept Eisenhower dissociated from the rest of the line—and succeeded overwhelmingly.

In retrospect, of course, they wished they *had* tied the line in, because the President's personal victory was large enough to have withstood whatever losses might have been incurred in trying to sell the party as well as the candidate.

HARVEY S. PROUST

New York City

Norman Mailer and The "Village Voice"

Dear Sirs: Writing on Beckett in the November 10 issue of *The Nation,* Herbert Gold stated that Norman Mailer was "fired" by the *Village Voice* for what he wrote about *Godot.* Mr. Mailer was not fired for anything he wrote about *Godot* or for anything else. He discontinued his columns of his own volition for reasons clearly indicated by him at the time.

Furthermore, what Mr. Gold called Norman Mailer's "last despairing say on the subject" was not in any sense despairing, but was one of the few examples of genuinely significant criticism to come out of this critic-ridden milieu in many a day.

DANIEL WOLF
Editor, *The Village Voice*

New York City

Dear Sirs: If the word "fired" was too strong, I apologize. At the time it was clearly indicated in the pages of the *Village Voice* that Mr. Mailer was disturbed because he could not continue to speak his mind uninhibitedly and that the publishers believed that his column was out of place in the newspaper. Therefore their mutual farewells had the tone of an honorable discharge under pressure (perhaps this is a better phrase than "fired").

The phrase "last despairing say on the subject" meant no harm to Norman Mailer, who is a questing, curious, lively —that is, serious—novelist. Some subjects deserve despair and the emotion of despair is not at all a confession of failure when sufficiently justified.

HERBERT GOLD

New York City

Statesmanship in Suez

Dear Sirs: In your editorial of November 24, you praise the wisdom of the President in respect to the Suez crisis. I agree that bringing the issue before the U. N. is in itself laudable; however, whether the decisions of that body are right is, to say the least, questionable. This issue can be settled, I am sure, if all sides agree to talk about it frankly. The issue is neither one of minorities nor of aggression, but surely of oil, of which nobody speaks. We will soon see whether it was right to force Britain and France to retract their steps.

Certainly it was wrong to invade; but what was the alternative? "We cannot subscribe in one world to one law for the weak," etc., says the President. But that is exactly what we are doing. If the President, a few days before Israel invaded Egypt, had included in his warning to the former a guarantee that the United States would act promptly through the U. N. to consider the complaints against Egypt, he would have acted with "wise statesmanship." Instead, he waited and "saw."

As to Hungary, how can that situation be compared? After all, it is a question of a foreign power suppressing the voice of the people. Nobody can believe that the uprising without leaders, without proper arms, was an intrigue from the outside. The length of the resistance, the fact that the general strike is still not settled, seems to indicate that the people want a change and certainly did not "invite" the Russians back. That matter should have had first call before the U. N.; the "wait and see" was pure hypocrisy. I cannot help recall, when reading the statement of the President concerning what he now calls "open rebellion," his statements during his 1952 campaign, which were in fact an invitation to just such rebellion.

The cynicism and hypocrisy practiced by all the great powers and the complete disregard for the weak, unless they serve in one way or another the interests of one of the big fellows, is something I would expect *The Nation* to uncover and fight with all its "guns."

WERNER LANDSHOFF

New York City

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1956
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Editorials

End of "The Lines"

For more years than one cares to count, opinion leaders have been saying that the time was close at hand for a thoroughgoing debate on American foreign policy. In the wake of each succeeding crisis, we have been assured that, at long last, the stage was being set for "the great debate." For the last four years the need for reappraisal has been voiced with mounting insistence and the intervals between the promises that a debate was about to start have shortened. But each time circumstances have conspired to prevent fulfillment.

The great novelty of the present situation is that momentous events in the Middle East and Eastern Europe have precipitated not the promise, but the debate itself. Events have moved so swiftly, opinion has divided with such sharpness, that there has been little time or inclination to invoke the admonition "politics stops at the water's edge" to cut off debate. As one might expect, this unplanned debate, catching the participants off guard, has resulted in some strange alignments. Ideological positions that seemed firmly established have been violently uprooted. Vested interests in pat slogans and catch phrases have been destroyed overnight. People are almost afraid to look about for fear of discovering that their new political bedfellows are too unpleasant to tolerate. Liberal critics of the Administration's policy on Suez find themselves aligned with the most implacable of British Tories. French "Socialists," such as Mollet and Pineau, are stoutly supported by the most reactionary sections of French opinion as well as by numerous spokesmen for a "liberal" American foreign policy. The key decisions of a "big business" Republican Administration are greeted with wild enthusiasm by the Left Wing of the British Labor Party; British pacifist publications write editorials under such captions as "Thank God for America!"

For some time now, spokesmen for "the radical right" and "the new conservatism" have been amusing themselves with much talk about "the liberal line," the implication being that American liberals are mostly disguised authoritarians who slavishly adhere to a "line" which is propounded for them by a small group of pundits, theologians and former "high officials" of the State Department. But if there is any single "line" being followed by liberals in the current debate, it has escaped our attention. Yesterday's "peacemongers" have become "warmongers," "anti-colonialists" and "anti-imperialists" have become champions of the British Foreign Office, neutrals have emerged as interventionists, and strong advocates of collective security are being tagged as "appeasers." Newspapers which in 1952 clamored long and loud for the election of "a great military leader" who would keep us out of war are now distressed because he has kept us out of war. On the other hand, newspapers that argued editorially that the election of General Eisenhower would do violence to the American tradition of isolating military from civilian power, are now complaining that the President does not place sufficient reliance on the military.

We are being told simultaneously that the Administration should adopt a policy, that the country must close ranks, that the Western Alliance must be preserved at all costs; in short, that a new "official" line must be laid down firmly and quickly, otherwise most of the ideological positions of the cold-war period will have to be marked down for clearance or discarded. In this "other-directed" society, it is important that every one knows just what every one else is thinking and, by inference, it is unfair for groups to "change sides" or abandon "lines."

But the disarray and confusion that has accompanied the first phases of our adjustment to a new situation is a small price to pay for the benefits which could accrue from a free, open, unrestricted debate on foreign policy in which, for the first time in a decade, it has become almost impossible to smear the critics of "official" policy as neo-Communists or fellow-travellers. Already the debate has swept beyond the point at which name-calling substitutes for argument; indeed, we now face the almost intolerable necessity of having to think for ourselves about a new set of facts. We have reached, for the time being at least, the end of "the lines."

From Manifesto to Declaration

Six Senate liberals have issued a self-styled "Democratic Declaration of 1957" as the first major move in a campaign to reconstruct and rehabilitate the Democratic Party. The sixteen-point legislative program it outlines will not quicken many pulsebeats; it is largely based on the platform adopted last summer at Chicago.

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And, standing by itself, the proposal to amend Rule XXII to make it possible for a majority to limit debate is hardly revolutionary; a similar proposal was advanced in 1953 and defeated by a vote of 70 to 21.

Nevertheless, the Declaration is an important document. It should be read as a rejoinder to the Dixiecrat Manifesto issued on March 11. The Manifesto was signed by ninety-six members of Congress, including nineteen Senators; all of the Southern Senators signed with the exception of Lyndon Johnson. At the time, with conventions and a Presidential election in the offing, the liberals decided to ignore the provocative document. The current Declaration is not only a belated reply to it, but also a vote of "no confidence" in the leadership of Senator Johnson. Only a few liberal Senators, as individuals, rose to challenge the Manifesto; but the Declaration may command the support of twenty-five Democrats in the Senate. Moreover, eleven members of the Democratic Executive Committee, including such well-entrenched party leaders as Paul Ziffren of California, Mayor David Lawrence of Pittsburgh and Colonel Jacob M. Arvey of Chicago, by unanimous action in secret session, have instructed the national chairman to establish a high-level advisory board to shape legislative proposals—in itself a slap at the Congressional leadership.

IN ADDITION, the proposal to amend the rules is a direct challenge to the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. The proposal will be put forward at the start of the new Congress, and Vice President Nixon will have to rule whether Rule XXII applies to the motion itself. But his ruling can be appealed to the Senate membership, which can uphold or reject it by majority vote. The question, therefore, is: how many Republicans are likely to join with the liberal Democrats in support of the proposal? Senators Ives, Case and Kuchel have already announced their support, but only strong prodding by the President is likely to bring other moderate Republicans into line. And the President's attitude may well hinge on which party finally organizes the Senate. Should the Democrats retain control, the Administration may feel that it has more to gain by appeasing the Dixiecrats, who chair the key committees, than by forcing a split in the Democratic Party and thereby improving GOP chances for the Negro vote in 1960.

But circumstances may yet occur which would place the Republicans in control of the Senate on January 3. It would be a good thing, in our view, if this did happen. For one thing, the Dixiecrats would be barred from the chairmanships of the key committees. A GOP-organized Senate, moreover, would be more likely to amend Rule XXII, since the Republicans would not want to be held responsible for failure to support a move making possible the enactment of civil-rights legislation. Adoption of the amendment would endanger the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, which has always been based on the ability of leaders such as the late Senator Taft to keep the Republicans in line on precisely this issue.

The Dynamite Was Fear

A few days before the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the desegregation cases on May 17, 1954, Carl and Anne Braden transferred title to a residence in a predominantly white neighborhood in Louisville to a Negro for whom they had acted in making the purchase (see: Louisville's Braden Case, by Walter Millis, *The Nation,* May 7, 1955). On May 15, rocks were thrown through the window of the house, shots were fired and a fiery cross was burned. On June 27, a blast of dynamite demolished part of the house. The Bradens and four other persons were then charged with violating Kentucky's sedition statute and, subsequently, additional indictments of much the same type were secured. The theory of the prosecution seemed to be that since Braden possessed a library which contained some Marxist material, and since he was never at any pains to conceal his views about racial discrimination, his real motive in acting as a dummy in the transfer of title must have been to foment enough strife to overthrow the Commonwealth of Kentucky. However implausible, the theory sufficed to convince a jury and, in December, 1954, Braden was sentenced to fifteen years in prison and fined $5,000. But this summer the Kentucky Court of Appeals set aside the conviction and, more recently, the remaining charges have been dismissed.

This fall, of course, the schools of Louisville and Jefferson County were desegregated with scarcely a ripple of protest; the community and its school officials won national acclaim for the skill with which the transition was effected. In retrospect it should be clear to all concerned that the Bradens were more or less accidental victims of a spasm of apprehension which had seized the community in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision. Fear of social change, not seditious thoughts acquired from the reading of seditious documents, provided the dynamite in the Braden case.

Crime and Punishment

Orville Cupp is a twenty-year-old Air Force enlisted man who became a Jehovah's Witness after eighteen months in the service and refused to continue as a gunnery trainer due to religious conviction. That was his crime. His punishment is a court-martial, dishonorable discharge and a sentence of five and a half years in prison.

Our country and its politicians talk mightily of God and Freedom, but when it comes down to cases, both concepts can give way to gunnery without arousing the moral wrath of any public spokesman. Religion is all right, of course—in its place. Gunnery is transcendent.

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RUSSIA'S BASIC STRATEGY

Facts Versus Illusions . . by JOHN PLAMENATZ

Oxford, England

ONLY A SHORT while ago people were asking whether the cold war was ending. Now, impressed by recent events in Hungary and the Middle East, they are wondering whether it has started again. Both questions are prompted by illusions. There has been a cold war of varying intensity between Russia and the West ever since the Bolshevik Revolution; there has been, on both sides, suspicion and hostility so deep as to give a quite special character to relations between them. This cold war has been through several phases, but it was never ended since it began—and is not likely to end for a long time to come. It is also unlikely, for reasons I shall discuss in a moment, to be more dangerous to peace in the future than in the past. We have misunderstood the danger of communism; we have been too much inclined to treat it as a danger of war, and have therefore, whenever that danger has seemed to lessen, been too ready to assume that all serious peril was passed.

From the end of the war until Stalin's death people used to say that Communist Russia aimed at dominating the world. Had not Marx and Lenin predicted the triumph of the proletariat everywhere? Was not the Communist Party, self-styled the party of the proletariat, centered in Moscow? Were not the Russians extending their power in many directions? The very people who put these questions before Stalin died were asking hopefully, not long afterwards, whether there had been a change of heart in Moscow. And now, once again, their fears are stronger than their hopes. But before we make up our minds what there is to fear, and what to hope for, we should look at East-West relations in long perspective.

It was in Lenin's time that the Russian Communists were keenest about world revolution. Their desire for world revolution was not then a disguised ambition to dominate the world, for at that time their country was obviously too weak. Had Germany gone the way of Russia, as Lenin hoped, Berlin and not Moscow would have been the center of world communism; this Lenin knew and accepted. The later adoption by the Communist Party of Stalin's doctrine that socialism could be established in backward Russia, though all the industrial West remained capitalist, was a sign that Moscow had given up, for the time being, serious hope of world revolution. Yet the Communist Party remained an international movement dangerous to the West, an instrument of Russian policy which could be used for purposes more immediate than promoting world revolution. Moscow has not abandoned the doctrine that the world will go Communist, but there is a vast difference between holding firmly to an article of faith and making it the heart and center of all policy.

MOSCOW, no doubt, is now more puffed up with pride than it was in Lenin's time. Since Stalin's consolidation of power, it has regarded itself as the only possible center of international communism. Though recent events have confused Moscow, putting it in two minds how it should act, its desire for hegemony within the Communist camp is probably as strong as ever. Yet this desire was always tempered by common sense. Even Stalin never treated the Chinese Communists as he did his European satellites, and Moscow's influence in Peking has been the greater for this self-restraint. And Stalin never used force against Tito, though there was little chance that the West would have intervened.

We can explain everything that Russia has done since 1944 to shock and frighten us without assuming that she is actively engaged in trying to make the whole world Communist. It is reasonable to suppose that she forced Communist governments on her European satellites not as part of a design for conquest but as a means of buttressing herself against the West. It is as obviously in the Kremlin's interest to keep Germany divided as to make her Communist; and it is easier to achieve the first of these aims than the second. When Russia makes trouble for the West in the Far and the Middle East, it may be as much because she fears the West and wants to divide it as because she is eager to assist the triumph of communism abroad.

LIKE the faithful everywhere, the Russian Communists, though powerfully affected by their faith, take some parts of it more seriously than others. What they take seriously depends on past experience and present necessities. When we consider their behavior, we must avoid two mistakes: we must not dismiss their faith as altogether irrelevant, as a mere armory of excuses to justify policies already decided on other than doctrinal grounds; and we must not suppose that their policies can be explained in the light of faith alone. It is to their interest to control an international movement which believes in its eventual triumph everywhere—and yet not to take that belief too seriously. If world communism is an end, it is very much an ultimate end, and the ultimate is usually in practice less important than the immediate.

Moved as much by their experience since 1917 as by their doctrines, the Russians probably still believe

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that the Western Powers are deeply and irreconcilably hostile to them. They have created—so they believe, and the belief is necessary to their self-esteem — a powerful "Socialist" economy which is essentially superior to the "capitalist" West's, and must therefore seem dangerous to the classes that dominate Western society. These classes, in their own interest, must desire the collapse of the Russian system. They desired it in Hitler's time, as their feebleness towards him proved, and they still desire it.

THIS does not mean that the Russians suspect us of a serious intention of destroying their system by war, though they once may have done so. They must reason about us as we do about them, giving us credit for seeing that modern war has become too destructive to be used as an instrument of policy directly against a Great Power. But they still see us as implacable if cautious enemies. They still see their country exposed to the hostility of powers as strong as, or stronger than, itself and its satellites; they still think it their duty to play these powers off against one another and to use against them the peoples of Asia and Africa who, for one reason or another, mistrust or hate the West.

The Russian Communists have sought to justify all their domestic policies as parts of a gigantic and heroic enterprise calling for great sacrifices from every section of a people surrounded by enemies. Psychologically, the Soviet Union, even in time of peace, has many of the characteristics of a nation at war. Even the political vocabulary of communism owes more to Clausewitz than to Locke or Rousseau. Yet the Bolsheviks have never delighted in actual war as the Nazis did and as the Fascists pretended to do. In their anxiety to placate Hitler they were every bit as feeble and silly as the British and the French. If they were ruthless in the years just after the war, it was because Hitler's invasion had badly shaken them; they wanted to make immediate provision for future security and quickly to restore a shattered economy. Flushed with victory, mistrustful of their allies, they decided to take advantage of their opportunities in a chaotic, war-weary world. Today they feel much stronger, much nearer equality with the West. Yet they are, at bottom, just as much afraid of a major war as we are, having as much to lose by it as we have. Therefore they probably want to continue using against us the old tried methods — methods designed not to prepare for war but to keep us confused and divided.

These methods can, of course, also serve to spread communism. They have already been used for both purposes: for the first in China, and for the second in Europe and the Middle East. These two purposes sustain one another: the spread of communism helps to divide and confuse the West, and the more the West is divided, the easier the spread of communism. But that does not mean that the Russians are seriously engaged in a vast conspiracy to make the whole world Communist. There is a great difference between helping local Communists to get power in poor and backward countries and trying to do the same thing in countries like the United States or Great Britain, or even France. If all the world except the Americas, Australasia and Western Europe were to go Communist, the West would still, for a long time to come, be richer than Russia and her allies, and militarily no less formidable. It would still be as suicidal for Russia to attack the West as for the West to attack Russia.

If recent history has shown how easily the Communists can get power in underdeveloped countries, it has also shown how strong is the resistance to them wherever there is a large middle class and the workers are literate. This is presumably as well understood in Moscow as in Washington or London. Moscow will do what it can, without any scruple, to destroy our influence in Asia and Africa, and to increase its own; it will be deterred only by the danger of precipitating a major war. It will also try to make trouble for the West in the West, but its hopes that the West can be made Communist must now be small indeed. It is, however, in Moscow's interest that these hopes should remain alive in the breasts of Western Communists. By their repression in Hungary the Russians offend all Europe, and by their threats in the Middle East—which are more bark than bite—they woo Asia. They thereby show how much more they hope from Asia than from Europe.

THE regime in Russia is milder than it was. The masses are no longer so illiterate and are perhaps more easily led than driven. The terrible methods used to collectivize the peasants, or to remove "unreliable" nations and classes to the remoter parts of the Soviet Union, or to make good at frantic speed the ruin caused by war, are no longer as much needed as they were. Already before Stalin died, it was less profitable than it had been to use slave labor; and since his death, Communists in high places are less exposed to the caprice of insane suspicion. But if the regime is milder, it is still essentially the same. And to the extent that it *is* changing, there is no sign that it is moving towards democracy and freedom as the West understands the terms. The Russians are not coming closer to us, politically and morally, merely by making a smaller use of practices we find detestable.

It is likely that Moscow will deal more gently with its satellites than it has done in the past. The better it treats them, the greater its prestige among neutrals. Condemning oppression in others, Moscow stands to lose more than it gains by imitating what it condemns, unless it can find no other way of defending its interests. However much Communists outside Russia may want

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independence of Moscow, they all share certain attitudes and ambitions. As long as Moscow does not make enemies of them by asking for more than they are prepared to give, it can rely on them for many purposes—and never more so than in its conflicts with the West. Tito has proved that Communists, when they cease to be puppets of Moscow, gain strength in their own countries without becoming any the less Communist.

There is, of course, the danger that local Communists, when they try to make themselves less dependent on Moscow, may find themselves swept out of power by popular movements too strong for them to control. How great this danger can be has been proved by recent events in Hungary. In the last few weeks, Russian policy towards the satellites has been an odd mixture of concession, threats and brutalities. There have clearly been differences of opinion in the Kremlin about what should be done. The advantages and the dangers of allowing greater autonomy to the satellites have no doubt been hotly debated. No one can foretell the issue. But my opinion is that the advocates of greater mildness will win in the end.

IT IS in the interest of Moscow to prevent by all means in its power, even by force, the destruction of a Communist government. But Moscow has seen how odious to their subjects Communists are when they are mere tools of the foreigner. It has also seen Tito, who became popular in his own country by defying Moscow, anxious to make his peace with Moscow as soon as he could do so without loss of self-respect. If Moscow could put relations with former satellites on a footing that satisfied Tito, he might even return to the fold; and if he did, the influence of Moscow over the "uncommitted" nations might be even greater. There would still be an international Communist movement; Communists in non-Communist countries would still be loyal to that movement rather than to their own countries; and Moscow could still use, perhaps more effectively than in the past, the subversive

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Bear and the Tent

methods dangerous to democracy and to friendly relations between the West and the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The Communists have never felt as the Nazis and Fascists did about international organizations. They find the United Nations useful as an insurance against war and as a place where they can play one power off against another and influence world opinion. They want to keep the peace and therefore to maintain some kind of world order. But the maintenance of this order, which was as much their object in Stalin's time as it is now, has always seemed to them compatible with the unscrupulous use of the international movement they control. They have always been—and probably still are—at once pacific and subversive. Their pacificism is as sincere as their subversion, for their methods are as effective in a world at peace as in a world at war. And another world war would destroy everything, even communism.

All these arguments depend on one assumption: that Moscow still looks upon the West as having, by historical necessity, interests irreconcilable with its own. This assumption is based on Marxist doctrine. Now, the Russians have already discarded several doctrines as essentially Marxist as this. Why, then, should we suppose this doctrine more sacred and less vulnerable than the others? The truth is that we suppose no such thing. For when the Communists abandoned other and equally essential Marxist doctrines, they did so not out of respect for the truth, but only because they could not otherwise justify their behavior, even to themselves. Unless they had decided (though the decision made nonsense of Marxism) that they could make backward Russia Socialist while all the more advanced countries remained capitalist, they would have had no excuse for retaining power. They were unwilling to say: "The world revolution which was to have justified our otherwise premature October Revolution has not happened and is not likely to happen for years to come. We have miscalculated and it remains for us, as honest Marxists, to give up the power we cannot use for the purpose which alone could justify our having it." Instead, they kept their hold on Russia and adopted the Stalinist formula of "socialism in one country."

THE RUSSIAN Communists have never thought out Marxism anew in the light of their experiences since they took power. They have merely neglected or reinterpreted those parts of it which stood too obviously in the way of their doing whatever they felt they had to do to remain masters of Russia or to extend their influence abroad. On the other hand, they still need an orthodoxy to justify themselves to themselves and to the world, and also as a means of discipline. They have nothing to gain by ceasing to believe that Communist countries are "proletarian" and Western countries "bourgeois," and that the interests of the two are not to be reconciled. On the contrary, these false beliefs are necessary to them. They serve to excuse what they have done in the past, to justify the methods they must still use to retain their internal monopoly of power, to hold the "people's democracies" together and to keep the Communists in non-Communist countries loyal. These beliefs may indeed eventually go the way of the others, as Moscow's current profession of belief in "peaceful coexistence" would seem to indicate. But there is as yet no *substantial* evidence that Moscow is preparing to jettison yet another orthodoxy.

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What is now happening in the Middle East and in Hungary could have at least one good effect. Perhaps it will persuade people who only a few weeks ago were facile optimists that relations between Moscow and the West will probably continue, for years to come, much what they have been since the war. To conclude that they will so continue is not, I think, pessimistic; for they have never been as bad as these recent optimists, in the earlier period of their no less facile pessimism, tried to make them out. Our task—thank goodness—is not to prepare for an inevitable hot war, which the Russians are as eager as we are to avoid; it is rather to win a cold war which has never ceased since it began. We can win it only by making the non-Communist part of the world immune to communism. As this is not primarily a task for the soldiers, we must take care not to be too much influenced by them.

It is good for the West and the Communists to understand that they are not as immediately and catastrophically dangerous to one another as both have been too often inclined to think. But it would not be good for the West to conclude that, because the Communists want peace as much as we do, they are not a serious danger to us.

DEFYING THE DRAFT

German Youth Rebels . . by JOHN R. DORNBERG

Frankfurt, Germany

GERMANY'S rearmament program, one of the Adenauer government's biggest political headaches, ran into new snags this month as draft boards throughout the country reported that eligible nineteen-year-olds were not reporting for draft registration.

German boys born in July, August or September of 1937 were scheduled to appear for registration during the first two weeks in November. In Nuremberg, once the center of Nazi fanaticism, less than 25 per cent showed up by the deadline date. In Munich, cradle of the Third Reich, less than 10 per cent reported. In Cologne only half appeared. In Stuttgart, the total reporting was only 30 per cent. Only one youth out of seventy-five eligibles showed up in the town of Hanau near Frankfort.

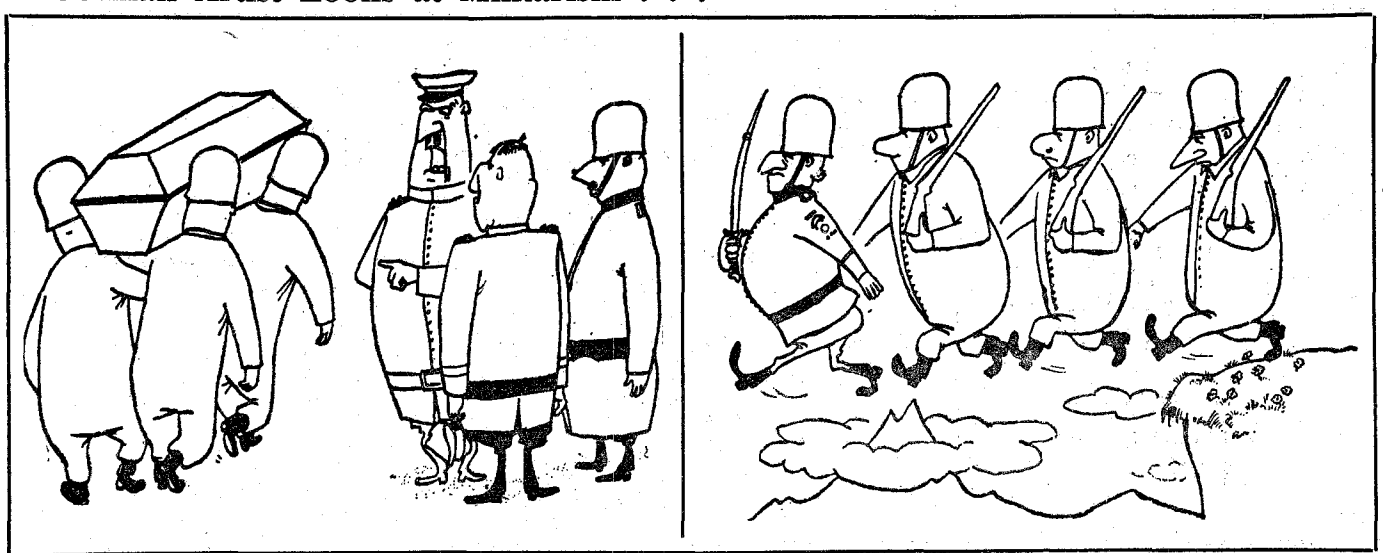
Even stranger than the draftees' reluctance, was that of the draft boards themselves. In the city of Dortmund, the fifteen city officials who had been transferred from their regular jobs to the registration office failed to show up for work. "We're not going to send our own kids into the army," said a spokesman for the group. "Our conscience would bother us if we had to register these boys."

The reference to "conscience" was the key to the problem. The German constitution, drawn up in Bonn in 1949, has as one of its principal guarantees of freedom, this sentence: "No one can be forced to perform military service with weapons against the dictates of his conscience." Germany's rapidly growing group of conscientious objectors has latched on to this guarantee.

The German objectors are different from those in the United States; the difference is one of the major bones of contention. The German constitution not only guarantees freedom from military service, if such service conflicts with one's con-

JOHN R. DORNBERG, an American journalist, is on the staff of the Overseas Weekly, *published in Frankfurt, Germany.*

A German Artist Looks at Militarism . . .



"I still think he's faking!"

Discipline Is Everything

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science, but in another article specifies precisely that "conscience is an individual matter" and cannot be controlled by any law or any state.

Germany's conscientious objectors include not only the traditional religious objectors, such as Jehovah's Witnesses or the Quakers, but also those people who object on non-pacifist, non-religious grounds. Writing in a German trade-union paper, Werner Haak, one of the leading objectors, summed up his conscience this way:

> It is Germany's responsibility, the responsibility of German youth in particular, to prove to the world that militarism is not an inborn cancer in the German mind.
>
> We must prove to the world that there are Germans that represent a creative, peaceful and modern Germany. We must show that there are Germans who are ashamed of their generals and their landowners, ashamed of Kaiser Wilhelm, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, Hitler and their bandit gangs. There are Germans who are ashamed of the Bonn government which let a man like Pandit Nehru return to his homeland defeated.
>
> There are Germans who deplore Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Oradour, Lidice, Rotterdam, Coventry and Sevastopol. There are Germans who hate weapons, uniforms, medals and the phrases and lies of our history. We consider ourselves united with the tortured Jews, Russians, Czechs, Poles and Norwegians.
>
> We are indignant because we see that the murderers, military judges, division chaplains and extortionists of yesterday are already celebrating their resurrection. We no longer want this hell.

West Germany today counts 100,000 active conscientious objectors, all busy peppering the *Bundestag* (lower house) with letters and lobbyists, providing draft-eligible youths with free legal service, holding meetings and parades, distributing propaganda. Three organizations make up the core. One is the International of War Service Objectors *(International der Kriegsdienstgegner)*, made up primarily of war veterans, college professors and writers. Another is the League of Defense Service Objectors *(Liga der Wehrdienstgegner)*, which has been branded as Leftist. The third and largest is the Group of Defense Service Objectors *(Gruppe der Wehrdienstverweigerer)*, which numbers nearly 12,000 dues-paying members, mostly drawn from youth organizations, churches and unions.

THE Group merits special attention. Under the slogan, "Neither a People's Police nor Federal Soldiers," it maintains nearly seventy offices staffed with part-time secretaries and top-name attorneys who give advisory service for draft-eligible Germans. Its membership application includes a pledge that the member will "protect [the organization's] independence from special-interest groups, in particular the Communist Party and its front organizations." Its chief is Hans Hermann Koeper, a fully disabled war veteran who started studying music after the war, but gave it up "when I saw that the whole idiotic business was starting all over again. I simply told myself that something had to be done about it."

With his pension as a financial backlog, Koeper founded the organization he now heads. He runs the group from a small office in downtown Cologne, directly across the street from the new German Army's recruiting office.

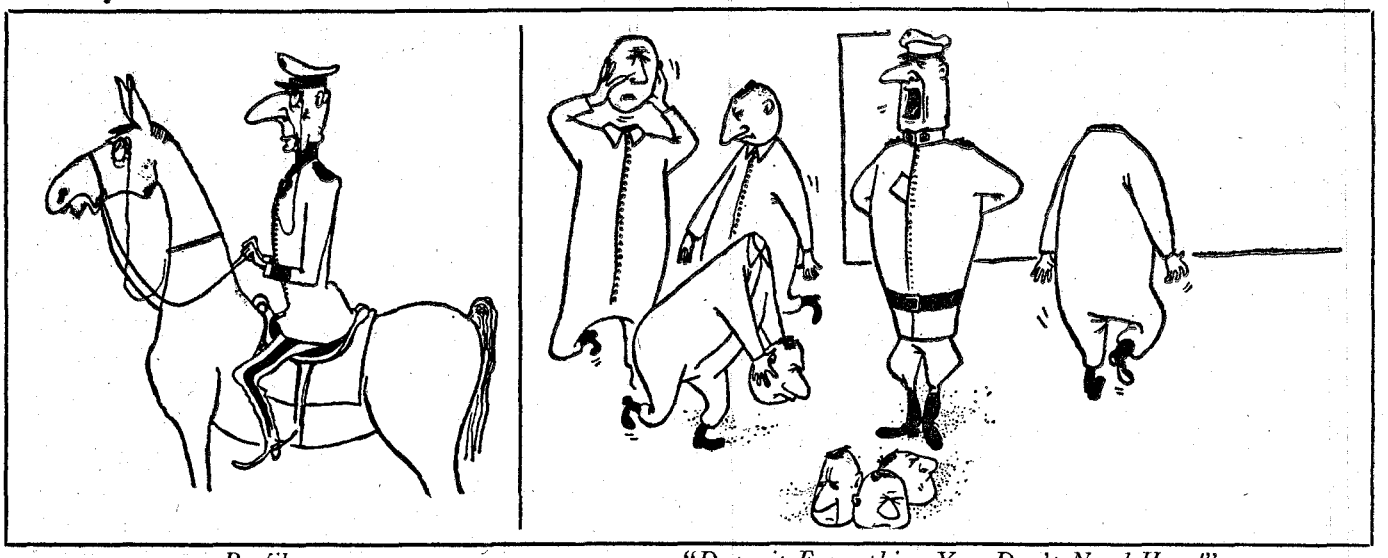
Heading the Group in Frankfurt and in the state of Hesse is Hans A. Nikel, a youthful publishing-house executive and former editorial staff member of Frankfurt's largest daily.

"I'm a product of your American reeducation program," states Nikel. "I was drafted into the German Army as a teen-ager and served until the Hitler regime collapsed. In 1945 you Americans told us that we should never again have an army. In 1950, your reeducation officers all packed their bags and went home. Coming in behind them were your generals and politicians who told us to get busy on rearmament. I'm sticking to the original lesson. It appeals to me, and besides I'm getting tired of being reeducated."

Nikel's publishing venture got off to a good start with a book of anti-military cartoons by Kurt Halbrit-

. . . by Kurt Halbritter

Cartoons from Discipline Is Everything, *Baermeier and Nikel, Frankfurt*



Profile

"Deposit Everything You Don't Need Here!"

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ter, called *Discipline is Everything*. Halbritter's cartoons now are used to illustrate the Group's handbills. (See cartoons on preceding pages.)

"Actually our organization didn't shift into second gear until the draft law was passed in September," explains Nikel. "Since then we've been so busy that I can't attend to the publishing job any more. We get about thirty membership applications every day, reporters call around the clock, people come in for advice, there are dozens of meetings to attend, leaflets to print, plus a million details to straighten out. But, of course, right now it's a little tough sledding because the draft law makes things difficult."

THE Group intends to take test cases to the German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe to prove that the new law is unconstitutional. Its argument revolves around the clauses concerning "conscience" and "conscientious objection" and the following additional provision in the law:

> He who is opposed to every use of weapons between states on grounds of conscience, and thus objects to military service with weapons, must complete a term of service or civilian compensatory duty outside of the Federal Army. He can, on application, be admitted into the Federal Forces for duty without the use of weapons.

The conscientious objectors reject the phrase "every use of weapons," and they also reject the "conscientious objector screening boards" which the law establishes. "What the government is trying to do," explains Nikel, "is to limit conscientious objection to traditional pacifism. If you're a member of an established pacifist religious sect, you're covered. But if you object to military service on political grounds or in a particular situation, you're not protected. We consider this unconstitutional, because the constitution states specifically that no one can be forced to perform military service with weapons against the dictates of his conscience. Everyone has his own conscience; the constitution guarantees the individual his right to follow its dictates.

"The government has tried to lay down a norm of conscience, and we are convinced this is illegal."

The German Defense Ministry has its answer: "It is understandable that there is no enthusiasm among the German people for a new army. After the way we lost the last war and the way German soldiers were defamed and insulted, that is a natural result. But the German people also must learn that they live in a free state, and one of the responsibilities of citizenship in such a state is the defense of that freedom. If we are given time, we feel that we can make militarism more palatable to the German people."

Nikel enters a rebuttal: "These canned statements to the press are unfortunate for us because they make us look as if we were anti-democratic, against freedom, against the constitution and whatever else is holy. Actually we feel we are the real democrats, the people who would really know what to fight for if things ever reached the point where fighting was necessary.

"There are many members in our organization who would gladly defend the constitution under which we seek protection, and who would probably defend Germany from attack. But only if they can be certain that it is *really* an attack. The experience of the last decades teaches us that plain soldiers and the general public can never know for sure whether a war is a defensive war or an aggressive war.

"Take the Suez crisis. Even countries not directly affected do not really know who attacked whom. The Israelis call it retaliation and a war to bring peace. The Egyptians call it an invasion; according to the French and British it was a police action.

"We have even more classic examples in Germany. Turn back history to 1938, 1939, 1940. Every German believed that Czechoslovakia and Poland were attacking Germany or at least planning to attack. Every German was convinced that England was waging an imperialistic war against Germany. What else could he believe? The German radio and newspapers screamed nothing but lies, and if you listened to BBC you were arrested by the Gestapo.

"Today there are even better propaganda methods than there were in the 1940s."

THE Group and its 12,000 members are trying to go straight down the middle in the present world crisis. They are opposed to all forms of government that advocate the use of force to settle international disputes. Though the majority are young, they represent all age groups. They come from nearly every walk of life.

Herr K., a thirty-six-year-old printing foreman, sums up his reasons for membership this way: "I was a first lieutenant in the last war, and I'm pretty disgusted with all I saw. I object to taking a weapon in my hand again to kill people who have as much right to live as I. Never again, for any cause."

A vice president of one of Germany's largest shoe factories has a somewhat different point of view: "I was a first lieutenant and tank-platoon leader in the last war and was awarded the Iron Cross First Class. But I come from the Soviet Zone where all my family is, and I certainly can't take up arms against my friends and relatives.

"Moreover, I am convinced that from a purely military point of view, there is nothing to be gained by the establishment of a West German army. And if we really want a democratic Germany, rearmament is taking place fifteen years too soon. The people who are reenlisting today are the same old Nazis who left the army in 1945. They haven't learned anything new. Von Manstein is in the Defense Ministry; former SS officers are being permitted to enlist. This is incredible to me.

"When you come right down to it, there's little in Bonn that really has to do with the defense of Germany. It's all just one big business undertaking. I'm a business man and I know who has his fingers in which pies."

A thirty-four-year-old bank employee explained: "I'm just opposed to any type of warfare as a means of settling international disputes. I don't think I'd defend myself because I wouldn't really know whether I'm being attacked. In 1939, when

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I fought in Poland, I found out that Hitler took concentration-camp prisoners, dressed them up in Polish uniforms and made them attack us. One never knows the whole story. There is always the possibility for peaceful understanding between nations. Yes, I was in service. I was in for six years and got out a corporal."

THE organization is as active as its limited funds permit. Monthly dues are only 90 pfennigs (about 21 cents). Its latest publication is an explicit brochure entitled *How I Can Avoid Military Service.* It proved so popular that I found it impossible to get a sample copy at the organization's offices.

A monthly news bulletin goes out to all members and to interested persons. Bicycle and motorcycle parades, as well as mass meetings and other types of demonstrations, are held in various cities as part of a systematic propaganda campaign.

But perhaps even more effective than the straight propaganda is the fact that the organization has leading attorneys available in every major city who have volunteered their services to all members who require legal aid in applying for a conscientious objector's status with their draft board.

One of the Group's most popular campaigns is their handbill and sticker program which concentrates on movie patrons. Moviegoers are likely to return to their cars to find stickers reading: "You can still enjoy a movie now, but think ahead to the times when you can't."

The Group is preparing a slander suit against Major General Paul Hermann, commanding general of the Fourth Military District in Germany, who recently told reporters that all conscientious objectors were either Communists or cowards. When his comment became public, he insisted that he had only quoted a high-ranking government spokesman. Hermann has been up for questioning before the defense committee of the *Bundestag,* which wanted to know the identity of the "spokesman."

The Group takes a lot of credit for the recent registration fiasco, which may force the German government to file police complaints against more than half of Germany's nineteen-year-olds. "Most of these boys," Nikel points out, "are the children of law-abiding parents; if there's anything a law-abiding German won't do, it's to refuse to show up at some bureau when ordered to do so. But, apparently, we've convinced these kids even beyond our intent. For we wanted them to show up for registration; they can't make a conscientious-objector's application until they've registered."

Although itself politically nonpartisan, the Group and the other objectors' organizations are being watched carefully by all German political parties. The Social Democrats (SPD) have latched on to the anti-draft and anti-rearmament proposals. This month they scored resounding victories in local elections in four German states.

A recent opinion poll revealed that 65 per cent of the German population is opposed to military service and the establishment of a new army. Another poll, taken about the same time, showed that SPD strength is running at 67 per cent of the total popular vote. Today the SPD is only a small, if vociferous, minority in parliament, but next fall's elections may show a change.

One German observer stated recently: "If the rearmament program and the military propaganda continues long enough, Germany will again become the Germany of earlier years. There is no real resistance against authority in our country. We tend to drift with the tide, and if the tide is left unchecked, history may repeat itself." The Defense Ministry agrees. Its press chief said recently: "The job is difficult at the moment, but in due time, I am confident, the new army and Germany's remilitarization will become more acceptable to the general German public."

"That," says Nikel, "is what we intend to avoid."

World's Most Valuable Men . . . by DAVID CORT

RECENTLY this magazine inquired into "the most interesting" people as indicated by gossip-column coverage [see *The Nation,* October 13]. A much more significant category would be "the most valuable" people in the present industrial society. At various periods in the past, both titles might have gone automatically to kings and courtiers, great captains, saints, writers, politicians or, more recently, financiers. There can be little doubt that today these have all been superseded by the scientist.

Now and then various science executives, such as Admiral Strauss, warn the press that our "50 per cent shortage" of scientists imperils "all of our blessings, even our freedom." Maybe so. But no real progress can be made in this matter until we penetrate a little more deeply into the words "scientist," "research" and even "shortage."

Superficially, the United States (and Soviet Russia, too) is already a throbbing hive of scientists and researchers. The great corporations spend five billion dollars a year (tax-deductible) on the industrial research pursued by nearly a million scientists, engineers and assistants (the last figure is, if anything, low). Since 1900, when General Electric's laboratory was Steinmetz's barn, G. E., Bell, U. S. Steel, Esso, etc., have hatched vast clutches of corporation scientists.

This year, G. M.'s new $150 million Technical Center at Warren, Michigan, drew press hosannas that seemed to answer Admiral Strauss's warnings of "shortage." The center has 5,000 "scientists," 320 acres and

DAVID CORT is a staff contributor.

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buildings done in chartreuse, royal blue, tangerine, lemon and crimson; it also has luminous ceilings and "floating" staircases. It was stated that most of the program would be on product design and improvement, but part would be basic research and pure science, just for the fun of it.

These laboratories undoubtedly have a function in industrialization. Once a basic invention or discovery has been made, its potentialities can be explored by a team operation, the numerous dead-ends exhausted and blocked off and the useful developments hastened. Until proved otherwise, it may be assumed that for this purpose a number of brains are better than one. The real question is: who makes the *original* basic invention or discovery, and how?

Our definition of "the most valuable" scientist must be narrowed to the inventor-discoverer-scientist. All that the million others can do is to pick over his leavings. If this is so, some inquiry is justified into whether he is to be found in the G. M., G. E., Bell, U. S. Steel and Esso laboratories, whether his training or heredity "qualified" him, and whether he is the presentable, well-adjusted type that would impress the G. M. personnel office. The answers can only be found in a review of certified inventor-scientists of the past. To eliminate suspense, the answers seem to be in every case: No.

BUT IT will be a revelation how wildly unsystematic the incidence of genius has been. Beginning in 1752, what sort of man invented the lightning rod and bifocal spectacles? The latter might have occurred to a lens grinder, but both were the products of a political-minded printer, Benjamin Franklin.

Was hydrogen discovered by a professional chemist? No. It waited on the inspiration of a dilettante nobleman, Cavendish, nephew of the Dukes of Devonshire and Kent. (Professional proletarians ought to be warned that a good many well-born people have done thinking quite as brilliant as farm laborers.) The spinning jenny and spinning frame ought to have been invented by a weaver, wool-carder or tailor. Instead, they came from a carpenter, Hargreaves, and a barber, Arkwright. The practically limitless unpreparedness (in the formal sense) of other great inventors for the work which made them famous is shown in the table on this page.

Great Inventors by Avocation

Discoverer	*Vocation*	*Discovery*
Lavoisier	Tax Collector	First list of chemical elements
Edgeworth	Country gentleman	Caterpillar tread
Priestley	Preacher and tutor	Oxygen, nitric acid
Bramah	Farm laborer, cabinetmaker	Water closet, hydraulic press
Bentham	Naval officer	Planing machine, explosive shell
Nicholson	Law clerk, pottery salesman, journalist	Roller printing-press, Electrochemistry
Whitney	Unemployed teacher	Cotton gin
Conte	Garden laborer, artist	Graphite pencil
Murdock	Miller's assistant	Gas lighting
Appert	Unemployed gentleman	Canning of foods
Dalton	Farm laborer, teacher	Modern atomic theory, meteorology, concept of color-blindness
Congreve	Law student, journalist	Ironclad warship
Young	Physician	Theory of light
Horrocks	Stone mason	Steam-powered loom
Fulton	Jeweler, painter	Steamship
Faraday	Bookbinder	The dynamo, steel alloys, solidifying and liquefying of gases
Stephenson	Stoker, clock-cleaner	Steam locomotive
Brewster	Theology student	Kaleidoscope

Who discovered machine-tools, the knitting machine and the modern process of tunnelling? This one is no more unlikely than the others, but the inventor's career teaches us an ominous lesson. By birth he was a Frenchman, but because he was an aristocrat during the French Revolution he had to emigrate first to the United States, then to England. He was a naval officer and architect, the great Brunel.

Another great man, Benjamin Thompson, the accountant who created the science of metallurgy by first understanding the nature of heat, was lost to the United States because he was regarded as a Tory by New England patriots. The French Revolution cut off Lavoisier's head while it still had some good ideas in it.

I would hardly dare to suggest that masses of people are not entitled to their mob emotions, group-thinking and occasional revolutions. However, the price levied for these exhilarating exercises is invariably the loss of the group's most useful citizens, whether in Communist Russia, Nazi Germany or the United States. Nobody can cast the first stone. Each of us is fond of his prejudices. The question is only whether we can afford them at such a price.

Whether or not we would have disliked Lavoisier, Brunel and Benjamin Thompson, we want to know more about the habit of mind that made them great men. Oddly enough, I believe it to be the same habit that every ordinary man occasionally shares and intuitively understands. A man or woman sits alone in a room and simply thinks about his world. He does not have to believe anything that his society, his parents or bosses have tried to hammer into him; he is not impressing his wife, children or neighbors. He strips his mind down to its real fighting weight and wonders about the truth. People do this everywhere, though not especially in the

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$150,000,000 General Motors Technical Center, but the encouragement of the process varies in different times and places. In the United States today a man with an original idea learns that there are some groups where it would be foolish to voice it, but he is not afraid for his life, even at General Motors. In Communist Russia, an original idea passing through a man's mind is likely to scare him out of his wits because it may get him a ticket to Siberia. Yet even in America the pressures toward conformity are such that as people grow older and wiser they try to stop thinking, and corporate scientists especially grow older and wiser.

There is no use pretending that society is ever very enthusiastic about the original thinkers. The great men try to explain and justify themselves, usually in vain, and as a result a very high percentage of them become definitely anti-social. Cavendish disliked people so much that any maid in his house was automatically dismissed if he happened to lay eyes on her. Wollaston listened in silence to others advancing ideas he had already disproved. Many of the great men were virtual hermits. I conclude from this that as members of society we must face the fact that our indispensable benefactors may not like us any better than we like them. Why should they?

MOVING up to this century in the list of important inventions and discoveries given in Clarence Streit's *Freedom Against Itself*, we find some extraordinary changes in the *apparent* process of invention and discovery.

The farm laborers, dilettantes and craft apprentices *seem* to have vanished. Almost invariably the modern inventors have had exhaustive training in the great universities and done nearly all their work for corporate entities such as governments, universities and profit-making corporations. They are usually members of a team of scientists living and working and communicating together. Typically, they do not look eccentric or act eccentrically. They wear well-tailored flannel suits, inhabit well-made houses with well-kept lawns and spend a good deal of time on social, administrative and educational duties.

Some of the inventors listed by Streit did not even exist as human beings. The monolithic brain of Corning Glass is credited with the invention of silica glass, the Standard Oil Development Staff with synthetic toluene, American Cyanamid with synthesized folic acid vitamin, Armour with ACTH. Nazi Germany's I. G. Farben is congratulated on its corporate invention of anti-malarial atabrine. However, Nazi Germany gives credit for the V-2 guided missle to von Braun rather than to the Third Reich, and the United States acknowledges Fermi, Zinn and Anderson as having had something to do with the atomic pile.

Expressing the new view of invention, Streit quotes J. F. Lincoln, president of the Lincoln Electric Company: "You of course understand that there is no discovery that is made by an individual." This statement is a model example of how to develop a disastrously false principle from a minor truism.

Some inventions evolve as competitive and progressively improved models; sometimes it is hard to determine which was the "key" model.

But most of the corporate "discoveries" of the past twenty years are routine developments of earlier revelations given only to individuals. These latter nearly always began as outsiders in the capitals of science.

The development of nuclear fission goes back to Einstein, the lonely Jewish clerk in the Swiss patent office, to Lise Meitner, a refugee, to the cyclotron of Lawrence (a product of South Dakota), and to Fermi, the anti-Fascist Italian. The whole development of radio, radar and television depends on Marconi, the Italian dilettante, and the vacuum tube of De Forest, the cranky individualist from Iowa. The jet engine (1937) is descended from the gas turbine—which is not even listed among the great inventions and was made workable before the first World War by the Armangaud brothers in Paris. Einstein and Steinmetz, in particular, began their careers as outsiders *par excellence*.

LISTING of corporations as inventors must be read in the sense that no corporation or bureaucracy can think, create or invent anything. Such listing is usually the whim of a vice president in charge of public relations. In fact, an idea from one individual brain, such as Franklin's, can bring into being whole unimagined industries and give employment to unborn generations of vice presidents.

Furthermore, any contemporary list of "great" inventions must be taken as highly provisional. Today's list will be unrecognizable in 2,000 A.D. If, as some think, all motor vehicles of the future are powered by gas turbines, that will become a "great" invention. If Buckminster Fuller's hemispherical dwelling becomes a mass-production item, that will be another "great" invention of this century. And so on, as most of the present list is swept back into the drawer.

A recurrent phrase in scientific patents is "improvement of the art." An old saying has it that "A work of art will never be produced by a committee." That palace of creation, the G. M. Technical Center, is an attempt to substitute predictable solutions by committees for the old-fashioned, unpredictable explosions in the dark by individuals.

The lone inventor, without a corporation, is in trouble in America today. A headline of July 13, 1956, "U. S. Bars Inventor From Own Secrets," labels the story of Congressional subcommittee testimony about a scientist ". . . who keeps

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coming up with secret and top-secret ideas. The results have been classified as secret and he no longer has access to them. But we can't seem to classify his head."

In the magazine *Mechanical Engineering,* Crosby Field writes, "In every one of the major lines I have pioneered, I have found my greatest obstacle to be the engineer [usually corporate], who always knows why a thing cannot be done, or if it can, why the doing of it is valueless." Mr. Field believes American science to be entering an era of decentralization.

This belief takes a lot of faith, when faced with the corporate palaces of research. Even the tax laws are prejudiced against the individual inventor and in favor of the corporation's hollow gesture toward invention. I have yet to hear of any government action to defend and encourage the priceless individual, the ordinary man doing his own unincorporated thinking.

He alone, never boards of directors, Cabinet officers or faculty committees, chooses the subjects for investigation; he does so by a mysterious intuition. He alone senses the invisible doors to new worlds still unrevealed. He tugs at the doorknob and thinks the door gives a little. The future of our society trembles in that balance, as whole industries may be about to be born. The inventor-scientists do not even ask for our gratitude. All they really care about is "the improvement of the art."

SUPREME COURT COLLOQUY

Conversation on the Smith Act . . by WILLARD CARPENTER

Washington

THE "MEMBERSHIP" clause of the Smith Act—guilt by association in its purest form—is now under consideration by the Supreme Court. Argued here early in October, the cases under advisement provide the Court with its first look at this part of the 1941 Smith Act. All other cases under the act which have been decided by the Court have dealt only with the "conspiracy" section (conspiring to advocate violent overthrow of the government). Under the "membership" clause, the government need prove nothing about the beliefs, advocacy or acts of the member, merely the fact of his membership, "knowing the purposes thereof," in a group conspiring to advocate violent overthrow of the government.

Eighteen indictments have been brought thus far against "members"; four have been tried and convicted. Two of these are now under review by the Court: the convictions of Junius Scales of North Carolina and Claude Lightfoot of Illinois. Both defendants admitted membership in the Communist Party, but both denied that the Communist Party advocated violence. Telford Taylor, an American prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, argued for Scales; John J. Abt, former general counsel of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, argued for Lightfoot. J. Lee Rankin, the new solicitor general, presented the government's arguments.

The defense attorneys told the Court that the "membership" clause punishes an individual not for *his* advocacy, but for that of *other* members of his organization. The clause requires proof of no act other than that of joining the group. "This," Taylor said, "is guilt by association—a doctrine abhorrent to Anglo-American jurisprudence." He was questioned sharply by Justice Felix Frankfurter.

Q.: Cannot Congress make mere membership a crime?
A.: No. The organization at issue here [i.e., the Communist Party] was not charged with a conspiracy to commit criminal *acts,* such as a conspiracy to overthrow the government, but with a conspiracy to advocate, to *speak.*
Q.: Whose speech is infringed?
A.: The organization's—it merely advocates; and speech is still infringed even if we were to grant that the member charged with the crime of membership is a silent member and says nothing.
Q.: This is not a free-speech issue, but free association.
A.: But speech is also an expression through groups to which we may belong.

Solicitor General Rankin argued that the government had met the guilt-by-association question by adding proof of the personal intent of Scales and Lightfoot to overthrow the government by violence. Taylor, admitting such proof for the sake of argument, objected that the government could not make the statute Constitutional by rewriting it.

Justice John Marshall Harlan threw this one at Mr. Rankin:

Q.: Suppose a person received a letter which said: "Our party is dedicated to force and violence, and we want you as a member." Suppose he signs up and does nothing more. Could he be convicted under the "membership" clause?
A.: That is the reason we added proof of active work in the Communist Party to these cases.
Q.: You're talking about evidence; I'm talking about Constitutionality.
A.: Membership means genuine membership; an inactive member wouldn't legally be a "member." The Communist Party itself defines a "member" in its constitution. It says a party member accepts the aims of the party, belongs to a club, attends meetings, is active on behalf of the party's program, reads and circulates literature and pays dues regularly.
Q.: My question assumes a card-carrying member, but one who doesn't go around and preach. Suppose he

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has all the attitudes of mind expressed by that clause in the party's constitution, but is not active in all those senses; suppose that through inefficiency the party tolerates him as a member. Could he be convicted under the "membership" clause?

A.: We would have difficulty proving our case in court if he proved he was not active.

Q.: It must be remembered that the Smith Act does not name the Communist Party; it is against subversive organizations in general. It might be applied against a group without those particular bylaws defining membership. You read into the statute *active* membership?

A.: Yes. We asked ourselves how far Congress can reach in dealing with free speech, and we considered active membership essential to meet the Constitutional limitations.

The defense advanced the argument that Congress had in effect repealed the "membership" clause, at least for Communists, by passing the Internal Security Act of 1950. Section 4-F of this act states: "Neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute *per se* a violation of [this or] any other criminal statute." Taylor pointed out that Congress was then weighing the advisability of requiring members of the Communist Party to register as foreign agents. Senator Kilgore and Congressman Celler argued at the time that since the Smith Act had already made membership a crime, the act of registering would constitute giving evidence against oneself. Congress, not wanting the Fifth Amendment to be available as a defense against registration, added the phrase "or any other criminal statute."

Mr. Rankin answered Taylor by urging that the words *per se* in Section 4-F provided the clue—membership *per se* is not a crime, but *knowing* membership still is, he said. To which Taylor retorted: "If we accept this interpretation offered by the solicitor general, it follows that all *knowing* [party] members can plead the Fifth Amendment and escape registration, and that Congress must have intended to register only ignorant Communists."

The paid informer was put in issue before the Court, too. John Lautner, an ex-Communist whom the government has used in almost every criminal trial and administrative hearing involving Communists, had been a witness in both Scales' and Lightfoot's trials. At the Lightfoot trial, however, Lautner "must have forgotten his lines," Abt told the Supreme Court. "Usually," counsel said, "Lautner testifies that the party advocates real force and violence as speedily as circumstances permit. But in the Lightfoot trial he stated the position of the Communist Party to be for peaceful transition, with the anticipation that force would be necessary only as a counter-effort to meet the force of capitalists who would probably refuse to accept a majority vote of the American people for socialism. Compared to his testimony in other trials, this was like Hamlet without the soliloquies."

Another witness at Lightfoot's trial had testified that the defendant had given a lecture at a Communist Party school ending with the phrase: "If we have to spill blood, we will!" The witness said he had made a written report to the FBI on the contents of this lecture; the defense had then moved to require the government to produce the report. But the trial judge had denied the request.

Q. (Frankfurter): Isn't this a matter of discretion for the trial judge?

A. (Abt): Certainly, it is. The testimony might be trivial. But he had no discretion where the witness gave such material damaging testimony as talk about shedding blood.

Q. (Justice Hugo Black): How long after the witness left the stand did you make your motion to produce the written report?

A.: As he stepped down from the stand. The government claims this was too late.

Mr. Rankin argued that Abt, at the trial, had not laid the procedural groundwork necessary for requiring the government to produce the report. "The defense made its motion after the witness left the stand," he said, "and they had not shown any contradictions in his testimony. They did not ask the witness: 'Was there one word in your testimony today that was inconsistent with the written report you gave the FBI?' And the reason the defense did not ask this was they really didn't want the report produced! It would have hurt their case tremendously to have the written report produced and find that it corroborated the oral testimony."

"If that were true," commented Justice Frankfurter, "I should think it would have been a good reason for the government's attorney to support the motion, rather than oppose it."

Q. (Black): Would the defense have laid a sufficient foundation to support its motion if the witness had answered that question, "No, there were no inconsistencies between my testimony today and the written report"?

A. (Rankin): Yes.

"If that's enough for a foundation, it's pretty ritualistic. Why go through that formula?" Justice Harlan asked as the hearings ended.

THE COURT has already ordered a new trial in one of the Smith Act cases—the Pittsburgh "conspiracy" case. In its reversal, the Court also showed concern with the problem of the paid informer. The government itself had admitted that its star witness at the Pittsburgh trial seemed to have, as Mr. Rankin put it, "a psychiatric condition."

Former Justice Sherman Minton heard the Smith Act arguments, but retired the following week when President Eisenhower's new appointee, Justice William Brennan, began serving. Consequently, only eight justices will participate in the decisions. Defense attorneys are hopeful of the results, partly because—they say—under Chief Justice Warren the Court has shown a new spirit.

Justice Harlan in particular seemed to question whether a member can be jailed for the actions and advocacy of others. On the other hand, Justice Frankfurter seems as disposed as ever to give more weight to the will of Congress than the Constitution. "Congress," he said at one point, "saw fit to make two categories of criminals under the Smith Act; the actual conspirators, and those who give strength to the organization by being members."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Apostles of the Rational Mind

PORTRAITS FROM MEMORY and Other Essays. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

A PIECE OF MY MIND. Reflections at Sixty. By Edmund Wilson. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. $4.

By Maxwell Geismar

WHEN the present books came for review, I had just been reading the later works of Otto Rank and an interesting new volume by Ira Progoff on Freud, Adler, Jung and Rank. Depth psychology is the only study of man as individual which can hope to balance, and perhaps modify, the dominant social change of our period—the true emergence of the mass man. Against this background the careers of Bertrand Russell and Edmund Wilson are particularly illuminating just because they are among the few last apostles of the "rational mind" in a revolutionary ferment.

We have come to belittle the top of the iceberg in the modern psyche; but perhaps it is time to evaluate if not to stress it again. Russell is a mathematician and a logician by training; he is the typical product of late nineteenth century science, reason and "optimism." His style, though praised for its simplicity, clarity and wit, is abstract and often flat. His sense of character and personality, as in the present series of profiles—Shaw, Conrad, his grandfather Lord John Russell, H. G. Wells, Santayana, Whitehead and the Webbs—is often deficient. Why in God's name, we may wonder, was this very un-literary fellow ever given the Nobel Prize for literature? The early battle with D. H. Lawrence, who told Russell to stop preaching and talking so much, was another meeting of the contemporary "unconscious" and the rational moralist; and yet in the end Russell has had the best of it, as a thinker at least.

FOR WHETHER because his own inner growth has steadily continued, or because the social period itself has shifted so sharply, the outlines of Russell's career, as he defines them in his eighties, are impressive. Rather like André Gide, his opposite number in France, he has come to stand as a symbol of the western European conscience. Well, at least he is a typical British aristocratic dissenter, and the dry, logical and ironical method of understatement, which displaces and minimizes all emotion, also claims dissent as an immutable and hereditary privilege of man, and hardly bothers to defend it. When Russell was a conscientious objector during the first World War, and his pacifist sermons were "somewhat unpopular in the neighborhood," he calmly went to jail, and rather enjoyed it.

This first experience with "social reality" and mob violence did not embitter him; on the contrary, he attributes his whole spiritual development, and a further reaching towards dissent, just to this primary gesture of defiance. For much the same reasons, those of "proper thinking and right feeling," Russell came out against the Russian experiment in the very dawn of the revolutionary utopia—and flatly opposing the intellectual opinion of the 1920s and 1930s as he had previously stood against popular prejudice. His prognosis of the course of communism was all too accurate—this skeptical intellect and apostle of pure logic was actually a brilliant observer and analyst of social and historical movements. With similar acuity the present volume describes the abyss between the Victorian world of Russell's childhood and the European scene of his old age.

He is still preaching and talking, while the unconscious forces of frustration, hatred and destruction, whose literary prophet Lawrence was in part, have swept over the modern world. Yet Russell has also devoted himself relentlessly, as in the concluding essays here, to describing the real situation of Europe today and the real choice of mutual tolerance or mutual destruction that still awaits the two rival power blocs of Russia and the United States.

I can think of no recent book which presents the imminence of this choice more effectively or impartially, while intellects in America have avoided the issue, or muffled the consequences. Is it partly in this light, too, that Edmund Wilson's newest collection of essays seems rather too trivial, fragmentary, and self-satisfied?

AFTER THE success of his earlier collections, *The Shores of Light* and *Classics and Commercials*, on our literary scene from the twenties to the forties; and then the runaway journalistic scoop of *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, Wilson is perhaps entitled to a volume of minor pieces. He is still the best American literary critic we have, despite his exclusion from Stanley Edgar Hyman's recent anthology of criticism for what reasons I know not. Indeed, he has only recently received the popular acclaim that he deserves, and that his critical work has always brought him in professional circles. And yet now, writing with his customary grace and wit on such extra-literary subjects as religion, war, education, science, sex and the Jews, on Russia, Europe and the United States, he seems to have reached the periphery of his career, rather than the center.

He is in fact peripatetic in most of these essays, walking around subjects that contain cultural and hu-

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man values which he has refused, deliberately or unconsciously, to consider. One might think, for example, that the whole purpose of Jewish history and culture was only to write the one great book that this critic admires. There is almost a deliberate reversion, which Wilson himself senses, to an eighteenth century classicism in his values as in his prose, just as he has returned to the role of country squire in his ancestral home at Talcottville, New York, and as his discussion of "modern education" centers upon the Greek and Latin poets.

Theodore Roosevelt, not Franklin, emerges as Wilson's political hero, and his reflections on the American social arrangement derive mainly from the epoch of the trust-busters. The problem of sex, in life and literature, comes down to a discussion of the lyrebird's antics in evolutionary biology. (Beneath the polished classical surface of these opinions, there is at best the "factual" world of nineteenth century science which Russell has repudiated.) What remains of romantic love, Wilson asks, after "the full circle of courtship, fruition, and relief"—and what a sanitary conclusion!

BUT THERE is a deliberate perverseness, I think, in this volume; a calculated astringency, a role-playing of "old-fogeyism" at sixty. Perhaps then at eighty, like Russell, Wilson will again move closer to the orbit of consequential choices, where the rational mind performs its true function.

Chiang's Prussian Clique

A MILITARY HISTORY OF MODERN CHINA 1924-1949. By F. F. Liu. Princeton University Press. $6.

By John K. Fairbank

ONE ESSENTIAL ingredient in both the rise and fall of Chiang Kai-shek was his military support, the Whampoa clique. These were the generals who first became his followers as cadets at the Whampoa Military Academy in 1924-26 and who dominated the Nationalist armies for a quarter of a century thereafter. The remnant of them are still generals today on Formosa, but their history as a group has remained largely unknown to Western journalists and diplomats. The military side of the Kuomintang, in short, though one base of its power, was seldom fully visible to outsiders.

Frederick F. Liu, a former Nationalist officer with an honorable combat and staff record, has now given us a critical and highly illuminating inside account of the Chinese Nationalist military machine—its early formation under Soviet inspiration following Chiang's trip of 1923 to Moscow; its later reorganization, after the Nationalist unification of China in 1928, on the lines of the German Reichswehr; its eventual performance as underdog against the Japanese and as overdog against the Communists. In the 1930s a German training program under a military mission led by von Seeckt and von Falkenhousen set the style and pace for Chiang's military build-up to oppose Japanese aggression. Mr. Liu believes that, had this military and industrial assistance from Nazi Germany been allowed to continue for two more years, Japan's attack might have met a far more powerful military resistance.

AS IT turned out, the highly professional military doctrine and training provided by the Germans were ill-adapted to the needs of an unindustrialized country whose military potential consisted chiefly of peasant masses just awakening to nationalism. Nanking's crack divisions did well, but were too few and ill-supplied; China's real strength lay in the villages, where the central government failed to mobilize it and so left the field to the Communists.

Into this deteriorating situation came the American military missions in 1941 and after—chiefly that headed by Stilwell and then Wedemeyer, although Chennault was already leading the Flying Tigers before Pearl Harbor and a Navy-OSS mission was built up separately. Mr. Liu sees Stilwell as a failure in his over-all dealings with the Chinese scene but a success in his training of

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Soundings

Through the night, the dark morning hours,
Hours of awakening and rain,
Hours of noises,
I hear the bouncing of a ball
Back and forth
Between a wall and a wall.

Through the loss of sister and father
The taking of wife
The newness of child not yet born
Not yet named,
Through loss piled not upon loss
But upon gain, loss and gain intermingled
Blasphemously, unfairly,
A devil's scratch upon my days,

Through the bitter, stupid breakings
The wild throwings, the quiet,
I stand in league with breath
And await my full circling
In the dark alley
Beneath the frozen moon.

GEORGE CUOMO

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Chinese combat infantry in India and Southwest China. Wedemeyer, on the other hand, he sees as successful because he "tried a little bit of honeyed diplomacy along with the decisiveness and strength that were needed"—a judgment which reflects the general Nationalist view, although its simplicity may not entirely satisfy the historian.

Mr. Liu's factual survey of the Nationalist war effort and strategy leads him to the inevitable harsh conclusion—it was "incompetently managed . . . cumbersome and corrupt . . . riddled with patronage and bureaucracy . . . incapable of learning from the Communists, who excelled in organizing the people." This detailed indictment of Chiang and his generals points an interesting moral for American readers—not only that militarism of the German and Japanese type can lead only to ruin, but that post-war Nationalist China, as the American public failed to realize, was based essentially on that same type of militarism.

Cocteau à la Mode

JOURNALS OF JEAN COCTEAU. Edited by Wallace Fowlie. Criterion Books. $6.

By Kenneth Rexroth

THIS BOOK is the result of a publisher's notion. "The Gide journals made a lot of money. If we published *Reminiscences of a Horse*, all the horses would read it. Why not *The Journals of Jean Cocteau?* Cocteau has never published any journals, but that can be remedied. Get a ranking expert on modern French literature to put together the more intimate passages from his more intimate books and call it *Journals* anyway." I object.

Furthermore, I object to Mr. Fowlie's special slant on French literature. Briefly, back in the days when the Maritain-Cocteau correspondence was all the rage, a certain clever Neo-Catholic dodge was fashionable on the cafe terraces. The angle—every notorious evil liver in French literature was really a Catholic apologist. It went like this: He sinned. Therefore he believed in sin. Therefore he believed in the Devil. Therefore he believed in God. Therefore he believed in Catholicism. Claudel made quite a thing of this with Rimbaud. Using the same routine, T. S. Eliot was able to convince the less bright undergraduates back in his native corn belt that Baudelaire wrote like Racine and "believed" like Bossuet. This has led in our day to imbecilities like "Sade (or Genet) belongs to us!" I can assure you that amongst over-worked curates and militant atheists both, the natural response is, "Oh, come off it."

Cocteau himself is the perfect exemplar of, not French, but Frenchy—International Set—culture. He early found the right people and has long stuck close to them. He cultivated, with secret circumspection, an elaborately gaudy career, a glittering "personality." His poetry is not just brittle, it is glassy and transparent. Within the conventions of the cubist generation it is thoroughly conventional. The dissociation of Apollinaire, the imagism of Reverdy, the metaphysical clownery of Jacob, the a-logical dialectic of Salmon, Cocteau combined them all in a *chic* collage. Now the *avant garde* of Caracas and Des Moines are saying, "One of ours has been made a member of the French Academy!" Let the *fumistes* of the outlands rest easy in their fuming. The Academy still knows its own.

THE PLACE for a conventionally spectacular personality is, of course, the movies, and all the world knows that it is as a movie maker that Cocteau "found himself." In America his movies are considered somehow deep and very *avant garde*. They are not. It is just a slightly different idiom. They are Hollywood, French Hollywood, through and through. *Escargots au beurre* at the Brown Derby. Their *moderne* cinematographic qualities are largely due to the technical poverty of the French film business.

Anyway—here is an insubstantial collection of personal exhibitions edited out of six books by Cocteau. It's considered all right to be an exhibitionist if you can show off something poignant, or awful, or both. I for one am neither awed nor pierced.

Some years back I escorted, on demand, an old friend, a lovable, elderly, international, intellectual gadabout, to the Fourth of July party given every year by a famous Paris dressmaker. As I handed in my friend and turned to go, the hostess said, "Aren't you staying?" "No—I think not." She gazed at me, the regard of a middle-aged, immensely weary and civilized female harlequin, and said, "I understand. How would you like to have to do this for a living?"

Voices of Power

HOMECOMING. By C. P. Snow. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.95.

By Max Cosman

THE LATEST to practice that sequence of interrelated novels in which individual, group and period fuse into saga is C. P. Snow. The era he covers is that formed by the two world wars. His characters range from lower middle class rag and bobtail to top echelon administrators. His surrogate, and crystallizer of narrative, is Lewis Eliot, observer or participator as occasion warrants, but perceptive in either role.

Mr. Snow has had ample preparation for his task. He has been a struggling young man and a Cambridge don, a government servant in war and a civil service commissioner in peace, a utility company director as well as a newspaper literary critic. When he writes about his fields of interest, it is with relevance and

KENNETH REXROTH will bring out this month 100 Chinese Poems *and a collection of his own verse,* In Defense of the Earth.

MAX COSMAN has written articles and reviews, principally on the modern English writers, for The Pacific Spectator, Theatre Arts, The Arizona Quarterly *and other magazines.*

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authority. There is a penalty though. His assurance at times plays hob with motivation of action and he will substitute ingenuity for insight.

This is seldom true when he deals directly with Lewis. *Homecoming*, the sixth of a proposed ten or eleven volumes, gives as did the earlier *Time of Hope*, a large installment of that Public Man's private life. We see his untenable marriage to Sheila end in her suicide. The struggle with her schizoid nature has nevertheless unfitted him for psychic adjustment. Thus when Margaret shows up, he cannot wholly commit himself to her love or his own. What happens thereafter, especially when he has been married to her awhile and his son almost dies of meningitis, makes poignant reading. But all ends well: finished with withdrawal, Lewis is able to break down the barrier between Margaret and himself, and in that sense he truly has come home.

A *L'Education Sentimentale* is, however, not the whole of *Homecoming*. The theme of power, a theme which is obsessional with Mr. Snow — see how he turns it over and over in the homely rooms of *Strangers and Brothers*, in the cloistered halls of *The Masters*, in the research laboratories of *New Men* — also is subjected to a scrutiny that may yet turn out to be his hail and farewell to an old inclination.

For it is obvious that though he still admires "the steady, confident voices of power" which must be listened to, he cannot help but note their underlying "dilemmas of conscience and egotism." There is something more than coincidence, then, in the way his Lewis feels the urge to power waning before the desire to become a novelist.

The fact is that in Mr. Snow the man of letters no longer intends to truckle to the man of affairs. *Homecoming*, among other things, is notice to that effect.

Modest Proposals

THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF SYDNEY SMITH. Edited and with an Introduction by W. H. Auden. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $6.50.

By Jacob Korg

SYDNEY SMITH was a stout, jolly clergyman contemporaneous with the English Romantic poets and famous in his own day as a wit, controversialist and joint founder of the *Edinburgh Review*. These selections from his articles and reviews show that Smith addressed himself to the vital issues of his time without courting the recognition of posterity; but they also make it clear that posterity is indebted to him as an early exponent of liberal views and defender of what would today be called civil liberties.

Nearly every reform advocated by Smith was unpopular with his contemporaries, but has become an established fact today. His most famous work, the Peter Plymley letters, is an energetic attack on religious intolerance. In them Smith, himself an Angelican, demonstrated the folly of denying Catholics their full rights as English subjects. He argued vigorously for the Parliamentary reform of 1832, which liberalized voting requirements. He favored giving women a good education, teaching public school students subjects other than Latin and Greek, and allowing poor men legal counsel in court, a right they were denied by law.

Smith was invariably humane, but he was also inflexibly reasonable and realistic. He never invoked general principles or spiritual values, even when his arguments called for them. His views were genuinely noble and generous, but he seems to have been almost ashamed of these qualities, and always based his cases on the most prosaic and pragmatic grounds. He positively enjoyed the challenge of making the silk purses of liberal reforms out of the sows' ears of self-interest or expediency. He urged the emancipation of Catholics, not as a necessity of Christian tolerance, but as a way of insuring the solidarity of the nation during the Napoleonic wars. In advising a bookseller against specializing in the works of freethinkers, he used as his strongest argument the warning that it would be bad for business.

Smith's real deities were moderation and common sense. He never demanded from his readers any emotion stronger than amusement. Within that limit, however, he used a powerful battery of entertaining rhetorical weapons. Like Swift and Molière, he could laugh an absurd premise out of existence by following it remorselessly to its absurd conclusion. Observing that the poor were denied an attorney's services on the ground that they could not afford them, Smith pointed out that the law in effect sent them to the gallows in order to save them the expense of legal fees. Perhaps his most potent instruments of mockery were his analogies. He compared the

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politicians who resisted the Reform Bill to an old woman trying with a mop to keep the ocean from flooding her house. Those who favored keeping Catholics out of public life while the country was at war were like the captain who made the rounds of his ship before the battle, putting all his Catholic sailors in irons, examining the others in religion, and making sure that no one took part in the fighting without first taking communion.

A keenly analytic liberal thinker who could use a certain frivolous wit to advantage, Smith may be described as a combination of John Stuart Mill and Lewis Carroll. In spite of the sharpness of some of his attacks on what he called fanaticism, he was essentially mellow, kindly and tolerant. He could point out, for example, that America was far ahead of England in its educational development, and that the land-grant system of providing income for the support of colleges showed the Americans to be "a wise, a reflecting and a virtuous people." Few of his countrymen were capable of taking so generous a view of America.

THEATRE AND FILMS

Robert Hatch

THE CRITICS for the New York press must have access to an ideal theatre season that is not available to less-favored playgoers. How otherwise explain their very grudging reception of N. Richard Nash's *Girls of Summer* (Longacre)? Mr. Nash has written a serious and generous play on a theme that most people will recognize as germane to their own experience. He has constructed it with skill, building emotional tension through a series of varied and vivid events, and keeping his solution very ably in doubt. His work has been admirably staged by Jack Garfein, who directs in a bold, unequivocal style that permits the actors to command the stage without strutting. And his principal roles are occupied by Shelley Winters and Pat Hingle, who share a gift for accenting a part so that it becomes more brilliantly lucid than life ever is, but without being distorted into an actor's vehicle. All this, I should suppose, is not an everyday achievement on Broadway.

What Mr. Nash talks about is the honesty needed to make oneself understood and the resolution needed to cast oneself off into the stream of experience. His heroine, thoroughly frightened by the demands that events have made on her, is hiding behind her own competence, escaping from life by dealing with it forthrightly and at arm's length. His hero is able to rout her out of her cave of fear because he is himself on a holiday from reality and can ask the sort of impertinent questions that comes easily to masqueraders. Perhaps disappointment is felt around town because Mr. Nash is in Chekhov territory, but certainly no second Chekhov.

Omniscience is Mr. Nash's weakness. He works from a psychological blueprint which, however valid it may be, deprives his play of the wonder that is the true life of the theatre. He is a superintending playwright and thus he gets his characters safely through crises where Chekhov found he could be no help at all. He pays the price that characters so carefully attended and manipulated do not assume an independence and stature of their own. So *Girls of Summer* is good workmanship, not great art, but to those who enjoy watching the theatre working hard and usefully at its trade, Mr. Nash's play is nevertheless recommended.

THE HAPPIEST MILLIONAIRE, on the other hand, is recommended to those who believe the theatre is a place for bubbling nonsense and who can still detect the bubble after one full act of the nonsense. It is adapted by Kyle Crichton from a book, *My Philadelphia Father*, which he and Cordelia Drexel Biddle wrote together and which is said to recapture the unique personality of Anthony J. Drexel Biddle. If Mr. Biddle was unique he had trite ways of showing it—alligators in the conservatory, prize fights in the drawing room, and loud-mouthed, cocksure, warm-hearted bullying all over the lot. Mr. Biddle, as portrayed, is a character wisely cut from *You Can't Take It With You,* and his wife is the lady Philip Wylie calls mom. Walter Pidgeon can literally be seen throwing himself into the title role; he continually demonstrates its risibility instead of playing to the script and letting the laughs fall where they will. This betrays a lack of confidence in the material for which he cannot be blamed. Ruth Matteson as Mrs. Biddle is so tolerant that I came in the end to feel she was being tolerant of me. The play is best served by Diana van der Vlis as Cordelia Biddle herself and by Don Britton and Dana White as her brothers. They treat the whole affair as an exhausted and hysterical Christmas afternoon, which is astute of them and produces a style suitable to their ages.

THE EVOLUTION of myth is an irreversible process. It may be that our heroes and legends derive from real progenitors and real exploits, but it is not possible now to rescale them to historical experience. Attempts to do so are common in the popular arts and they invariably result in sentimentality and inadvertent burlesque.

DeMille's *The Ten Commandments* is the longest (three and a half hours) and probably the most elaborate true life story of this sort ever to come from the cameras. The idea—a romantic screen biography of Moses—is inherently ludicrous and irreverent, and the producer-director, himself something of a legend, has exercised a heroic bad taste to create an epic of balderdash. Pharoah and Moses are in love with the same girl (Anne Baxter as a Folies Bergère Nefretiri); the burning bush is one of those artificial open fires you find in movie lounges; the voice of God, declaring "I Am that I Am," is a radio announcer speaking into a rain barrel, and

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Moses comes down from the mountain with his hair luxuriously marceled and lightly tinted with white. I am not going into the details of Cedric Hardwicke's cuteness as the elder Pharoah, of Yul Brynner's grease-paint villainy as Moses' rival, of the touching coincidence attendant upon Moses' discovery of his true mother, of the process photography that reduces God's wrath to vaudeville legerdemain (no way, apparently, was found to produce a plague of frogs), or of the resemblance of Charlton Heston, as Mr. De Mille's sturdy hero, to the frontier marshal in a typical Western. It is all of a piece—banal acting, cheap plot contrivance, the reduction of great poetry to colossal showmanship. De Mille, as he intended, has produced his enduring monument.

THE NEW Japanese film, *The Magnificent Seven,* is also in the fashionable new length—two and a half hours, approximately. It was directed by Akira Kurosawa, who was responsible for *Rashomon,* but it is much more easily accepted by Western audiences than was the earlier film, or for that matter any of the major Japanese films that have been shown here.

It is being defined as an Oriental Western, which I think is about as helpful as calling a bullfight a Latin rodeo. It doesn't need to be defined —it can very easily be described. Some five hundred years ago (I take this in the sense of "once upon a time") a remote Japanese village, grown desperate from repeated plunder by a robber band living in the nearby hills, determines to hire some samurai (professional warriors) to destroy this plague. Samurai are expensive and normally work for princes, but by persistent search the agents from the village are able to find seven who, from temporary poverty, interest in a new kind of fight, or appreciation of the villagers' misery, are willing to accept the job.

The picture, then, is the story of how these professionals prepare to defend a defenseless position against improbable odds, the relationship between the elegant, sophisticated warriors and their almost savage employers, and finally the battle itself which takes the form of repeated onslaughts, each more desperate and deadly than its predecessor. This is melodrama, romance, knight errantry—universal material. In this particular picture it is excellent because the characters are admirably differentiated and thoroughly interesting and because the details working up to the decisive encounter are engrossing and skilfully timed to pull the tension tight. I am not persuaded that samurai as a class were as amiable, high-minded, inventive or entertaining as this group (one of the seven, a pseudo-samurai, is even a brilliantly athletic clown), but Kurosawa and his cast share an image of chivalry that is exceedingly winning. Beyond that, the picture is beautifully photographed: the village, the enticing, dangerous woodlands, the bandits' stronghold, meticulous details of defense and drill, horses in wild flight, close-order battle and quiet scenes of mourning, even a lightly-sketched love affair, are all photographed with a direct, uncluttered vision that shows a delight in the clarity and flexibility of the camera. It is not remarkable camera work, except that it is remarkably good. And *The Magnificent Seven,* for all it will be shown in art houses, is not an arty or even a remarkable film. Except that good story-telling is always worth remarking.

MUSIC

B. H. Haggin

SUBJECTS like the difficulties of the New York Philharmonic or the New York City Opera are invitations to fancy or pretentious ideaspinning that usually has no relation to fact. Thus, in explanation of the Philharmonic's poor performances last season one critic argued that it resulted from the orchestra's having to play under a group of conductors—Mitropoulos, Walter, Monteux, Szell and Cantelli—"far too numerous and disparate in its methods of conducting." Very impressive —until one remembered the beautiful performances last season of the London Philharmonia, whose manager has made it a point to have the orchestra work under a large number and variety of conductors. Concerning Cantelli in particular the critic I have mentioned remarked that his "claims to distinction as a symphonic maestro have always seemed to me rather dim"; but the claims that were dim to him were impressively clear to the not easily impressed Toscanini and musicians of the NBC Symphony; and the true reason for the Philharmonic's poor work under Cantelli was talked about among informed orchestra men: "The orchestra has stopped playing for him." This is something which the Philharmonic could not possibly admit, and which the public may find it difficult to believe; but I believe it and write it because I got it from sources I consider completely reliable, and because it has

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happened before in the orchestra's history. I was reliably informed that it was the reason for Stokowski's withdrawal a few years ago; and in the thirties the Philharmonic played like a great orchestra under Toscanini one week, and the next week one saw it sit back and take things easy under another conductor and produce playing in which one could not recognize the orchestra that had played under Toscanini.

I have thought it advisable to go into all this in explanation of what I have to say about the recent Philharmonic concert I attended—that from the first slow measures of Haydn's Symphony No. 96, sharply outlined and continuous in tension, one could hear that Paul Paray and the orchestra were in real contact and that this time the orchestra was producing what the conductor asked for. In this instance what he got it to produce was an excellently paced and shaped performance of the symphony; but in Debussy's *La Mer* it was a brilliant-sounding performance in tempos much too fast for the detail to be clearly heard and articulated and to be organized in right proportions.

At this concert the pianist Clara Haskil made her first appearance in New York, playing Mozart's Concerto K.466. She was already known to the American public through her recordings; and except for some performances of Scarlatti sonatas with powerful phraseological tensions, her playing on records had been sensitive but lacking in force. This had been true of the performance of Mozart's K.466 on a Westminster record several years ago; and I was therefore entirely unprepared for her powerful phrasing and projection of the piano's opening statement in the dramatic first movement, and the similar force of her playing throughout the work. It was the performance of a first-rate musician and pianist, which deserved the warm applause it would have got in normal circumstances, but did not, in my opinion, justify the cheers it got because it had been produced by a stooped, frail, white-haired old lady. Another pleasant surprise was the excellent cadenzas written for the concerto by Nikita Magaloff.

The foregoing review was written before the tragic death of Cantelli, which I will comment on later.

THE Concert Society of New York began its season with a recital by the German baritone Hermann Prey, who sang Schubert's *Die schoene Muellerin* with Leo Taubman at the piano. Prey brought to his task high musical intelligence and impressive dedication, but not a beautiful voice, without which intelligence and dedication weren't enough.

On the other hand the Canadian contralto Maureen Forrester, at her Town Hall recital, exhibited a very fine voice with a mezzo-soprano's bright timbre and high range, which she had under absolute control in every register and at every level of volume, and which she used with admirable musical and expressive understanding in several Dorumsgaard arrangements, a group of Schubert songs and Wagner's Wesendonck songs. The one thing her singing lacked was communicative intensity and projection, which could be a matter of the increased confidence that may come with further public performance. John Newmark provided excellent piano support.

The New York City Opera's concluding production was a *Rigoletto* in which the dramatic goings-on made even less sense than usual on the permanent set that didn't provide the house and walls which those goings-on involve—for example the wall in the second act which would have been a reason for the ladder that was carried onto the stage and then carried off unused. Cornell MacNeil in the title role and Sylvia Stahlman as Gilda sang and acted very well; Barry Morell, the Duke, has a good voice but an insecurity in pitch which brought him to disaster a few times. Julius Rudel paced and shaped the performance effectively, but didn't get from the orchestra the fine playing that Morel and Leinsdorf did.

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TELEVISION NEXT WEEK

December 9 through 13
(See local papers for time and channel)

Sunday, December 9

THE AMERICAN CAMPUS (NBC; Wide Wide World). An exploration of many forms of education available to Americans, from log-rolling at the University of Washington to Frank Lloyd Wright's combination house and school in Phoenix, Arizona.

MAMA (CBS). Renewal of a series which has been absent without leave all season. Mama and her family have always been believable, lovable, warm and gentle people. A welcome return.

NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE SHOW (CBS). This is the first time the National Automobile Show will be televised. Produced by Paul Levitan, who won an Emmy award for coverage of atomic-bomb tests.

Monday, December 10

FESTIVAL OF MUSIC (NBC; Producer's Showcase). S. Hurok lends his impresario talents to corralling some distinguished musical artists — Marian Anderson, Artur Rubenstein, Richard Tucker, Segovia and others. (Color).

Tuesday, December 11

VICTOR BORGE'S COMEDY IN MUSIC (CBS). Comedian-pianist extraordinary. Mr. Borge's first TV appearance last spring was a smasher success. "Anybody can do it," he says. "I talk until I don't know what else to talk about. Then I sit down and play, and if I feel there is something I should say, I say it. . . ."

Thursday, December 13

SINCERELY, WILLIS WAYDE (CBS; Playhouse 90). J. P. Marquand's best-seller, adapted for TV, will star Peter Lawford, Charles Bickford, Sarah Churchill and even Rudy Vallee, who will essay a straight dramatic role.

A CHRISTMAS CAROL (CBS; Shower of Stars). Repeat of '54 and '55 musical adaptation by Maxwell Anderson of Dickens' classic with Fredric March and Basil Rathbone, a choir and orchestra. (Color).

A. W. L.

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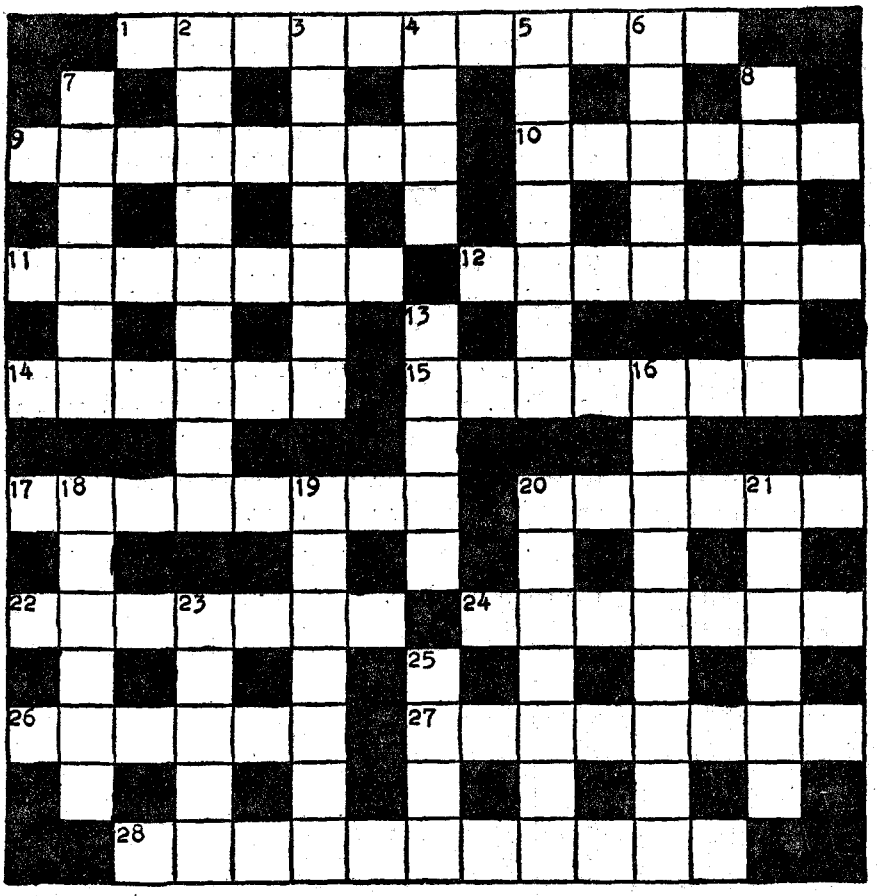
Crossword Puzzle No. 701

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 and 6 down With a different division, the redcap stores expensive wood—but it isn't always rare. (11, 5)
9 Sizes up what some tread. (8)
10 Sit down at table in an attempt to make a diplomatic agreement. (6)
11 Perhaps big game around it, all together (to count another clue)! (8)
12 Supports closely or draws away from? (5, 2)
14 Noticed our years are not spent in foolish talk! (6)
15 Not applicable once the majority is passed. (8)
17 Could I make it pull me more than once? (8)
20 Much more than the equivalent of a red cent! (6)
22 and 24 See 4 down.
26 You might find it bent as a result of incisive action. (6)
27 Confection formed in pearls. (8)
28 and 7 down The game in the books that went the most innings? (It should have been around 33!) (4-7, 6)

DOWN:

2 The attack seems to be coming along thus. (9)
3 Bondsmen. (7)
4, 22 and 24 across Strangely enough, they shouldn't make you see red! (4-7, 7)
5 Extrinsic. (7)
6 See 1 across.
7 See 28 across
8 Both pearls and fiddles might be. (6)
13 It takes quite a few pies to make it (5)
16 Pardon me, if I ask for it! (9)
18 One of Gilbert and Sullivan's last operas was limited to this. (6)
19 One of many that make the mark. (7)
20 Doesn't jump near a solid fence? Quite the contrary! (7)
21 Rather odd it's not on the level! (6)
23 Surpass. (5)
25 Girasol makes such a friendly invocation. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 700

ACROSS: 1 COXSWAINS; 6 CUBIC; 9 LANDTAG; 10 YARDARM; 11 ATHLONE; 12 NOISOME; 13 SAG; 15 INCITE; 17 LENTIL; 18 AND 22 VALVE-IN-HEAD; 19 LEGUME; 25 STY; 27 WAGTAIL; 28 EXPOUND; 30 EQUALLY; 31 MAILING; 32 LEEKS; 33 RENASCENT. DOWN: 1 CELIA; 2 XANTHIC; 4, 3 AND 5 IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING; 6 CURSIVE; 7 BEAR OUT; 8 COMPELLED; 14 ALLOT; 15 IDLE WHEEL; 16 EVE; 17 LEI; 20 GAG RULE; 21 MEASLES; 23 NAPKINS; 24 ELUSIVE; 25 SLAYER 26 YEOMEN; 29 DIGIT.

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